42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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763 In general, it is said of a person who dies without anybody being aware of it (*madúaw*), whether by drowning or otherwise, that some part of his body will invariably appear in his house, and that the said part will tell the relatives the name of the deceased and the news of his death.

761 754 Death by cursing is also to be classified under the same heading. Indeed the Isneg never call it by the term *meránud*, and the kidneys of a person who dies on that account, are supposed to have been devoured as usual. Consequently it seems that, according to the Isneg viewpoint, the curse is not so much the immediate cause of death as a kind of summons to the spirits, by which they are invited to proceed to the stealing of a person's kidneys. To curse (*pakkawán; past tense: piúkawán;* from the stem *pakkáw*, "shouting") is done shouting, and in such a way as to cause the adversary to hear the curse pronounced against him. The result is instantaneous; the cursed person gradually becomes thinner and thinner, and finally dies. Nevertheless not all curses are intended to entail the death of a person. It may happen, for instance, if you are a thief, that people will pray that some part of your body become diseased or destroyed; in this case you will be *malbág*, and the person who cursed you is said to *manaddí* (to destroy, to deteriorate).

761 753 To resume: the Isneg consider all deaths from disease (including suicide and death by cursing) to be caused by a kidney-eating spirit, while deaths by accident or by violence are considered as natural, there being at the same time a kind of connection between death and the object or person that took part in it, either because this object or person constitutes a kind of mediate (the coconut tree from which a person falls) or immediate cause (the authorities who execute a culprit, a headhunter who kills an enemy), or because it is the final cause, *causa finalis* (God, in the case of a martyr; one's country, in the case of a patriot). All deaths by accident or by violence, except felonious homicide, come under the denomination *meránud*. [682]

B. BURIAL AND MOURNING

1. Death till Burial

763 755 Let us now enter the house of a dying Isneg. The poor man is very sick, it has even been rumored about that he is actually very near death, that he can hardly articulate a sound (*mañgassát*). The *dorarákit* or shamaness has used all means in her power to avert the

42: Vanoverbergh E-5 (no date) 1936-1938 OA1 Philippines
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763 catastrophe by trying to extricate the sickness from the poor man's
•755 body in the form of a piece of iron or of a tuft of grass; his family has offered the customary sacrifices of pigs, etc., while the shamaness has performed the ceremonies connected with obsession by a spirit
763 (*maxanito*); but all to no avail. The neighbors come flocking in, mostly intent perhaps on the *bási*, which flows freely on such occasions and of which they partake copiously. The state of the patient has become hopeless. Now and then the bystanders feel his pulse, which is his life (*biyáy*), as the Isneg put it; if its pulsations are still strong, they may try a last *maxanito* performance with occasional sacrifice of a chicken. But the pulse becomes weaker and weaker. *Taxáy matáyyin* or *atán matáy*, "he is dying", which means that *bitti- ya áñatna*, "his breath is little". More people come in, and more *bási* is distributed. And finally the end (*tápañ*) comes, the man dies (*matáy*).

763 Now pandemonium breaks loose. All present, more especially the
201 women, break forth into loud lamentations; loud voices, at their highest pitch, resound discordantly all around the dead man; everybody shouts, each person lamenting in his or her own way without caring for the words or the tune of his or her neighbors. The husband, wife, parents or children, as the case may be, anyhow the nearest relative or relatives may go so far as to cut themselves with their knives and to make incisions in their body. They may even threaten suicide, whether by hanging themselves or by throwing themselves into the water, but in this they are of course impeded by the bystanders. And this lasts for a considerable period of time. These outward manifestations of grief are so exceedingly grotesque, and the contortions and vociferations are so much exaggerated, that it is well-nigh impossible to take them at their face value. But such is the custom, and who would dare disobey it?

Similar scenes are enacted and may be witnessed among all the tribes I have had to do with, except that in the case of the civilized Christians a certain decorum is rarely absent, and the lamenting is mostly confined to the near relatives of the deceased. This has led many Europeans and Americans to believe and even to affirm confidently that the natives in general did not grieve very much when death snatched away one of their own, that they were stoics and fatalists to a high degree, that all these loud expressions of sorrow were pure make-up staged for the occasion. I would be the last to deny that the natives possess a certain degree of stoicism and that

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743 782 Elsewhere, they go to the field on the day after the *pinudóñ*-ceremony, either in the morning or in the afternoon, and harvest one basketful of palay (*manalégāt*: Bayag pronunciation). But after that, they stay at home for three whole days without repairing to the *kómān*. Then finally they go again (*mamalāñon*), and this time continue the reaping until the whole work is done. The palay of the first basket is not pounded in the regular way, but simply roasted over the fire, and the rice is put in a calabash and placed over the hearth. When the harvest is over, this rice is pounded and eaten just like ordinary rice.

In any case, on the day following the *pinudóñ*-ceremony, the reapers take with them to the field a *sipañ* (young coconut) and place it in the *sixāy*-hut. This *sipañ* must be so young that it could not have formed before the *agtotognó* or time of planting. At Bayag, and only there, if the *sipañ* is all too young, the old woman takes it with her on the day of the *pinudóñ*; if not, they do as elsewhere and take it with them the next morning.

After the reapers have come home in the evening of the first day (the day following the *pinudóñ*-ceremony), the owner of the rice field, the man, takes a coconut and divides it (*magbakká*) with his hatchet, while he pronounces the following words:

To di bakkánnu anito ta dinu bakkán ólomi (Divide this, spirits, so that you do not divide our heads).

Then they cut out the *aludákid* (a narrow strip of coconut meat mentioned before) or *ludákid* around the edge of one of the halves, bind it into a bundle together with some palay, some charcoal, and a short slender stick cut out of bamboo, and hang it on a cane of *bassáw* or bamboo grass stuck in the ground among the bushes, not far from the house. The whole outfit is called *bāyúbāy* and should prevent the reapers from getting sick. If this ceremony were omitted, there is every reason to believe that some of the women would fall victims to disease.

755 Should it happen that a member of the household, whether a reaper or not, becomes sick at the beginning of the harvest, the Isneg perform the *púpug*-ceremony. A chicken is caught by a shaman; she kills it inside the house and recites the usual prayers; then the meat is consumed by the inmates of the house, both men and women. While the women of the immediate neighborhood, no others, are allowed to be present, all men who do not belong to the house, are strictly forbidden to attend the *púpug*.

796 smallest feast is the *pespes*, given at the beginning of harvest, or for a sick child. Only a chicken or maybe, a pig is killed. After eating, the people go to the field and work until quite dark. A coconut is divided and half left for the field. The other half is eaten on arriving home.

755 [753] A *coglot*, given to an *anito* for the recovery of a sick person, deserves further mention. If one of the family becomes sick, they think that the spirit of the sick one has wandered away and been caught by some *anito*. They call for one or more priestesses according to their wealth. This priestess holds a consultation to discover, either which *anito* is keeping the spirit, or which *anito* to ask to go and take the spirit away from the evil *anito*, and thus bring the sick back to health.

[757] Upon deciding which *anito* to call, they tie a live pig at the door, and the priestess calls the *anito*. Then she touches the patient, sometimes applying native herbs, oil, or lime on the parts affected. The dog or pig is then killed, and the priestess prays the *anito* to take the spirit of the animal instead of the spirit of the sick person.

[791] The next morning the patient gives the priestess the beads, plates, *aliwa*, and all the articles used by her in the ceremony.

787 Auguries are practised by observing the flight and call of birds.

The various calls of the *awanac* are important. Ten different calls are distinguished and are classified as *mulad*, foretelling good fortune; or *umgad*, foretelling misfortune.